

H. TERNOVSKY

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BY THE PAST**

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**UKRAINA SOCIETY
Kiev, 1980**

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CONTENTS

How it all began	3
Whose friends are they?	29
Staggering blows	52
Without the future	69

Published by the Ukraina Society, 6 Zoloti Vorota St.,
Kiev-34, Ukr. SSR

Printed by the Radyanska Ukraina Print Shop, Kiev.

Order No. 1028

Price: 10 kopecks

How it all began

The modern political situation confronts all peace forces with the necessity of expediting efforts to resolve current pressing problems. In the first place, the problems of strengthening and deepening detente, making a decisive step toward curbing the arms race, further promoting neighborly relationships among different countries.

In the 1970s, some softening was registered in the international climate — primarily thanks to the indefatigable peace activity of the Soviet Union and countries of the socialist community, as well as due to the tremendous efforts of all people of goodwill. In the process of detente, the notion of peaceful coexistence among countries with differing social systems changed and began to acquire a concrete economic and political content. People all over the world became witness to the weakening positions of the cold warmongers. Objectively more favorable conditions were provided under which to handle disputable matters and international conflicts by way of fair, peaceful settlement.

As of late, however, aggressive imperialist forces have challenged these progressive trends with a policy based on unwillingness to recog-

nize realities in the modern world (e. g., the strengthening positions of socialism, progress in the national liberation movement and the growing in scope of freedom-loving democratic forces in general). Imperialism is determined to stall the objective process of renovating the world. The upper echelons of the aggressive NATO bloc — first of all, the U.S. — have set course on tipping the world military balance in their favor, to the detriment of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, detente and international security.

Hence the imperialist policy of stepping up the arms race, staging provocations against socialist and other independent countries, NATO's militaristic activity and extending its functions as a tool of the imperialist dictatorships.

The present tactic of the anticommunists, their attempts to reinforce their manpower imply recruiting not only the traditional cold war arsenal — Nazi or semi-Nazi groupings, militant anticommunist elements — but also Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who have always declared their readiness to serve any reactionary forces. In the words of a certain nationalist publication, they are ready to follow "the devil himself, if he's against Moscow."

Their zealousness is met with approval by different anticommunist forces. Although well aware of the true worth of all those nationalist "world" and "local" associations like WCFU, UCCA, UCC, UYAC, AUGB, etc., they continue to plan to use, in the ideological warfare against the Soviet Union, Ukrainian nationa-

lism — an outspoken enemy of international peace, friendship and social progress.

Fortunately, the sinister schemings of imperialist reaction meet with growing resistance on the part of world progressive forces. The nation's active and purposeful struggle for the ideals of peace, freedom, independence and social progress, the implementation of plans for communist construction in the Soviet Union, the successful construction of the fundamentals of socialism in various countries of the world — all these are the decisive factors that confirm the futility of all reactionary, and Ukrainian nationalist, efforts to alter the course of history.

Leaders of Ukrainian reactionary groupings abroad never tire of struggling to convince the public of those countries where they live at present that they represent the interests of the entire local Ukrainian community. Still, any person more or less in the know of the sociopolitical life of any given Ukrainian emigre midst realizes only too well that such allegations have nothing to do with reality. Ukrainian Canadian nationalist chiefs are no exception from the rule. In this country, the title of the only representative of the entire Ukrainian ethnic group is claimed by the so-called Ukrainian Canadian Committee. That this claim is simply preposterous, is, perhaps, best realized by the Committee's higher-ups. Still, they seem in no hurry to make this awareness public knowledge.

On the contrary, the UCC brass hats, while knowing better than to stick to the earlier alle-

gation that they "influence 95 per cent of the Ukrainian population of Canada," continue to advertise UCC as "the only organization that represents the whole of the Ukrainian community in the country." This falsehood has long been exposed in the media, even by some nationalist publications. And yet, the UCC chieftains persist in laying claims to this self-styled position.

As a matter of fact, the bulk of the Ukrainian Canadian community appear to have only a vague idea about UCC. Some generally prefer to keep themselves at a distance from this outfit. The farther the better. These are people who are well acquainted with UCC's true identity.

So what is UCC, its claims and ambitions, really like? This author will try to explain by, first, leafing through some of the pages from its history.

In Canadian history, the 1930s became a period when the ruling circles were ready to resort to any means to distract the working masses from class struggle, from their outbursts against the exploiter's encroachments. In the meantime, the Nazi storm troopers were having the time of their life in Germany where, even at that period, terror and military preparations, given a free rein, were showing the world that Nazism was humanity's most terrifying menace. Encouraged by Nazi raids on workers' and democratic organizations in Germany, Canada's pro-Nazi elements sprang to activity. The local authorities more often than not looked sideways. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists promptly joined ranks

with their ideological brothers and plunged into *pogroms* of Ukrainian workers' and farmers' communities and labor homes. They shot at prominent Canadian antifascists, too.

Evidence of the livened activity of the pro-Nazi elements in Canada is also found in the fact that one of the ministers of the Federal Government of that period had to concede in Parliament that there was a racket of Nazi spies operating in the country.

While reshaping the maps of Europe, the German Nazis attached great importance to their aggressive plans, to countries across the ocean—in the first place, to the United States and Canada. Their ultimate goal was world supremacy, so they banked on recruiting various reactionary forces in these two countries as their fifth column.

In those years, there were a number of reactionaries among the powerful of Canada who felt sympathy for nationalist organizations with pro-Nazi programs of action. Needless to say, this could only raise the nationalists' spirits. These sympathizers included W. Kirkconnell (according to the *Canadian Farmer*, one of the forefront fighters in the world against communism, which "automatically" included him in the nationalist ranks as one of their "best friends"), J. Thorson and G. Simpson. It was on their initiative and instruction that the notorious Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) was set up. The three were also known for their malignant verbal and written attacks on the Soviet Union and for their close contacts with the nationalist elite.

Apart from the above representatives of

Canadian reaction, mention should also be made of yet another "midwife" who helped the Committee see the light. Tracy Philipps, formerly a British intelligence officer. In 1940, he was officially known as a European advisor to the Canadian government.

A number of other Ukrainian nationalist organizations were raised on the fertile soil of anti-Soviet hysteria in Canada. Some of them had been drafted by the Nazi secret service.

At that period, quite a few characters, known as "veterans of the armies of liberation efforts," traveled from Europe to Canada to make the country their new home. To put it simply, these "veterans" were survivors of the armed counterrevolutionary formations which had operated in Russia during the revolution of October 1917 and the Civil War (1918—1920) and who had fled from their people's reprisal abroad. In Canada, these "emigrants" still hoped they would one day return to the Ukraine with the help of intervening foreign troops. They still dreamed of restoring the capitalist regime on Soviet soil.

It was from among this scum that OUN emissaries, who had paved the way to the American continent in the 1920s-30s, were now recruiting members for their bourgeois nationalist groupings. It's, for example, an established fact that Petlura's associate Yevhen (Eugene) Konowaletz, this Führer of the OUN, visited Canada in 1928, ordered to do so directly by the Nazi secret service. Later, the trip was made by two of his henchmen — Omelian Senyk-Hrybiwsky (1931) and Roman Sushko (1932). The first was a Nazi secret emissary on

the American continent (later to directly participate in the Nazi invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, as the commander of a 600-strong regiment). The latter held the rank of a colonel of "Karpatska Sich."

A number of documents are available to testify to what the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was like prior to WWII. At times, objective commentaries on this Nazi-styled organization are carried by Ukrainian publications abroad. In September of 1980, the Chicago-based *Ukrainske Zhyttia* (Ukrainian Life) wrote that "the prewar OUN was, ideologically, conspicuously antidemocratic organization. Probably influenced by Dontsov or the mid-European Nazi trends, it rejected democracy in principle. Had it succeeded, 'by way of an armed rebellion against all the occupiers,' in creating an independent Ukrainian State, then the OUN-planned 'dictatorship of the nation'—or the dictatorship of the OUN—would have turned into a regime of hair-raising terror against all dissidents."

One of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations which maintained close contacts with German imperialist secret services was the United Hetman Organizations—UCC's "founding member." Its HQ and its Chairman of the Board Pavlo Skoropadsky, formerly tsarist Russia's general, the German kaiser's protege, were in Berlin. According to top secret Nazi documents retrieved from the archives of the Third Reich after WWII, the United Hetman Organizations and its European and overseas branches were financially completely sustained by the intelligence service of the German Mi-

nistry of Foreign Affairs. UHO people carried out special Gestapo and Abwehr assignments, published and disseminated Nazi literature, underwent military training.

Still, as previously mentioned, UHO wasn't the only Nazi-initiated nationalist center across the ocean. The Nazis also kept under control ODVU (Ukr. abbr., Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine) in the U.S. and UNO (Ukr. abbr., Ukrainian National Federation) in Canada. They regarded them as OUN branches (the OUN was also fully provided for by German military intelligence)

The formation of the OUN's branches was supervised by Nazi secret emissaries who also directly participated in it. Before sending them to the American continent, the Nazis had briefed them accordingly. It has been established, for example, that the OUN functionary Omelian Senyk-Hrybiwsky was prepared for the mission by Major von Foss of the Abwehr — the Nazi military intelligence service.

Even the nationalist publication, *The Sketch of the History of the OUN* (Munich, 1968), points out the purpose of Konowaletz's trips to the U.S. and Canada was to "create in these countries a legal network which would be special from the psychological as well as political point of view" And here is what *Samostiina Ukraina* (The Independent Ukraine) magazine of ODVU (Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine) wrote at the end of 1979: "Colonel E. Konowaletz, at a banquet at the Bismark Hotel in Chicago in 1929, thus presented the matter of the OUN's legal branches; per 1,000 soldiers in the underground, there should be

2,000 legal operatives who would act continuously as a financial and political base. This base ought to be fundamental, lasting and not makeshift, because only then would the organization be capable of drawing up plans for action, only then one could count on success in the land of birth (Ukraine — Ed.) and abroad. Such an organization must be set up in the United States and a separate one in Canada."

It should be noted at this point that the OUN-sponsored associations were used by the Nazis as a major technique for infiltrating the U.S. and Canada. It was through them that the Nazis conveyed directives to their agents and received their intelligence. M. Sharyk, one of the OUN residents in Canada, recollects in his book *From 50 Years' Distance* (Toronto, 1969) that they kept in touch with Berlin "through our people in New York" and abode by a "severe discipline and complete silence."

In setting up fifth column centers, the Nazis attached special role to their propaganda overseas. The members of these centers were instructed to spread misinformation and carry on demagogic agitation. A number of nationalist periodicals were headed by pro-Nazi characters who often accepted ready-to-print materials from Berlin — specifically from Goebbels's Ministry of Propaganda. All this proves the fact that the whole of nationalist propaganda was directed from the Third Reich. It not only had nothing to do with the interests of the working Ukrainian emigres in Canada, but was hostile to them as well as to the interests of the entire Canadian population.

Set up with the blessings of German intelli-

gence and active support from the reactionary Canadian circles, the Ukrainian nationalist associations took steps to coordinate their efforts.

Spurred by reaction, the leaders of these outfits, despite all discord and squabble (which are known to have always been gnawing at the nationalist community), tried to organize some coordinating center. In the early 1940s, the inter-organizational bickering was such that there appeared two "unifying committees" — the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Canada (BUK) and the Ukrainian National Federation (UNO) — plus the Central Representative Ukrainian Committee of Canada [formed by the merging of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada (SUS), the United Hetman Organizations (SHD) and the League of Ukrainian Organizations (SUO)]. All this bustling finally became such a pain in the neck of the true managers of the whole "unification" business that they stamped their feet at the "plotters," ordered all of them to gather in Winnipeg on November 7, 1940, and made them join into the ignominious Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

That the idea of this Committee belonged not to Ukrainian Canadians but to certain propertyed circles, interested in pouring oil on the fire of anticommunist, anti-Soviet moods, is seen from some nationalist periodicals — a fact which nationalist propaganda has been zealously trying to hush up. *Ukrainskyi Holos* (The Ukrainian Voice), the organ of SUS (Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada), for example, recently carried the article "Prelate

William Kushnir" (W. Kushnir, a Uniate clergyman, was UCC's first long-term president). It reads, in part, "It is erroneous to consider him (Kushnir — H. T.) to be the founder of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, because he wasn't. The idea of such a general Ukrainian representation in Canada at the beginning of the Second World War came from outside the Ukrainian circles. What was more, Ukrainian Catholics at that period gave this idea a cool reception, as though they had no special interest in the whole matter. One could remind those who forget or don't know that, for a long time, Ukrainian Catholics, especially several of their priests, treated the Ukrainian Canadian Committee even with hostility and tried to disband it."

The fact that in 1940 the non-Ukrainian initiators of the UCC were well aware of what they were shaping the Committee outfits into is important in characterizing the constituent nationalist groupings. In particular, the aforementioned Prof. W. Kirkconnell wrote in his book *Canada, Europe and Hitler* that the Ukrainian National Federation (UNO) was a group of "Ukrainian Nazis" with Führer A. Melnyk at the head. The author described UNO as "anti-Semitic, markedly military, authoritarian and anti-democratic."

The Canadian OUN's official weekly, *Novyi Shliakh* (The New Pathway), openly advertised Nazism as a "new, advanced ideology," called the blood-covered butcher Hitler a "champion for the right of peoples to self-determination on ethnographic principles." "...Hitler was God for *The New Pathway*..." wrote

the said *Ukrainskyi Holos*. "It praised him, guessed his thoughts, appealed to him and advised others to appeal, and became angry with those who did not want to believe in Hitler and in his wisdom and goodwill." The merging of the independent Ukrainian groups into the UCC, *Ukrainskyi Holos* continued, is nothing other than falsehood and provocation, because the blocking groups "do not and cannot have any mutual platform."

At that period, *The New Pathway's* pages were full of militant materials whose authors frankly urged the readers to alter their views in conformity with Nazism, to make their banking on the Wehrmacht (the Nazi German Armed Forces) which was then brandishing arms with a steadily growing intensity. They pointed to all this as a force capable of "liberating the Ukraine from Bolshevism."

In his broadcast address (1939), W. Swystun, one of the UNF's higher-ups, cynically declared that "nationally-minded Ukrainians, with the exception of the communists... would be inclined to give all possible assistance to Germany in her eastward thrust... the Ukrainians think that Germany... is to be approached as a friend rather than a formidable enemy."

Quoted above is one of the base, servile appeals of the Nazi-minded Ukrainian Canadian leaders from the collection *Ukrainian Course on Radio Waves* (Saskatoon, 1939). The nationalists then wouldn't even dream of concealing their contacts with the German Nazis and their mutually shared good feelings. Thus, *The New Pathway* informed, with utmost satis-

faction, even with pride, that Nazi Consul Gustav Kropp of Toronto "was guest of honor" at the 1938 national convention of the Ukrainian National Federation.

Hunting for sympathizers of their "liberation course" among the Nazis took the Ukrainian bourgeois leaders so far that they found themselves obscenely exposing their own mean, treacherous selves. On June 29, 1941, one week after Nazi Germany's invasion of the USSR, one week after what had become for the Soviet people the beginning of the Great Patriotic War which would cost it the lives of millions of its sons and daughters, at a time when Ukrainian towns and villages were going down in flames, when the Ukraine was literally soaking in her own blood, tramped by the heavy cleated Nazi boot, *The New Pathway* crowed: "The Ukrainian masses are welcoming the German invasion with the words, 'the Germans are better than the Red Muscovites.'"

Among the documented evidence of concrete and businesslike collaboration between the Ukrainian Canadian nationalists and the Nazi aggressors is the English book *This is Our Land* by Raymond Arthur Davies (Toronto, 1943). The author, a progressive native-born Canadian publicist, was witness to the trying time he describes. While telling how a number of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist associations were created on Canadian soil, R. A. Davies exposes the criminal alliance between the "independents" and the Nazis. "The Ukrainian National Federation and the United Hetman Organizations," he writes, "are the only two Ukrainian groups in Canada that received lead-

ership from Berlin and that have been essentially fascist in program." Elsewhere in the text; "The program of the Ukrainian National Federation, as illustrated by *The New Pathway*, is typically Nazi in character." Also; "The study of the history of the Ukrainian National Federation, the larger and more aggressive of the two nationalist organizations, demonstrates conclusively that this cooperation with Canadian and German Nazis was a national and inevitable development."

Ukrainian nationalists followed in the footsteps of the Nazis, disseminating the inhuman ideas of anti-Semitism, international and race hatred. On June 27, 1942, *The New Pathway* carried an article full of lies about the "terror and mass killings," allegedly perpetrated by Jews in Germany, Rumania and tsarist Russia, later the USSR." Without batting an eyelash, the OUN publication gives figures — thousands and tens of thousands — as the number of intellectuals, farmers and workers murdered by Jews. All this nonsense was necessary for the anti-Semitic weekly to come out with the complaint; "That time, nobody protested. But today, when nobody kills Jews, when they are only threatened, everybody screams bloody murder." Today, the whole world knows exactly how the German Nazis "threatened" the Jews.

Propagating the cannibal ideas of Nazism, international discord and the "liberation of the Ukraine from Bolshevism" — the latter by ways of providing every possible assistance to the Nazi Wehrmacht, the nationalist centers thus emerged not only as enemies of the Soviet

Ukrainian people, but also as open ill-wishers of Canada, of the Canadian population.

Quite significant in this sense is the first Constitution of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, endorsed when founding this organization. While proclaiming, in one of the clauses, that it is among the aims of the Committee "To coordinate and to strengthen the participation of Ukrainian Canadians in the war effort of Canada" (Canada was officially at war with Nazi Germany), in another this same Constitution, in effect, calls for splitting Canada's allies "to achieve state independence" of the Ukraine. Isn't the above an eloquent manifestation of the hypocrisy of the UCC's "founding fathers"?

In the meantime, the progressive Canadian public, progressive Ukrainian Canadian organizations did what they could to help bring closer the victory over the brown plague of Nazism. Forty thousand Ukrainian Canadians fought the Nazis in the acting Canadian troops, representing the largest ethnic group. Of course, the nationalists realized they had to conceal their collaboration with the aggressor at least from those compatriots who wore the Canadian military uniform. They did, with due regard to the international situation and that within Canada. This trend grew in scope as the war was nearing its victorious end.

Poor UCC leaders! The troubles they faced after the debacle of Nazism in WWII! They chose the only alternative, aiming their efforts at erasing, from people's memory, what they had only recently tried to implant there — affiliation to the crazed Führer and his "philosophy."

In this respect, they met full understanding and support from Canada's influential circles. The latter didn't even hesitate to absolve their Nazi collaboration sins. What all this amounted to was complete rehabilitation. The nationalists were given yet another chance to take their puppet places at the cud of the strings. The UCC turncoats didn't have to be asked twice.

Some years after the war, the UCC expanded. It was joined by the newly founded League for the Liberation of the Ukraine — another Banderite outfit in Canada, made up of surviving Ukrainian Nazi collaborators who had been lucky to make it across the ocean after WWII.

At first, true to its "party principle" (whereby every emigre who didn't support the "revolutionary" OUN was to be crushed without mercy), the League had actively opposed UCC, calling it a "Ukrainian Crippled Committee." Eventually, its Banderite members had made up their mind to join it. In the end, they had figured, they would get the whole thing under control — as they had done with other conglomerate nationalist bodies like the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany, etc.

This Banderite League in Canada unites the right extremist reactionary emigre circles which almost openly profess Nazi ideology. Much to their regret, they cannot but take into consideration the dictates of the present day. They are compelled to hide their misanthropic identity. They do it, by and large, for appearance's sake. In fact, every issue of the Banderite publications in Canada, West Ger-

many, the United States and other countries with Ukrainian emigre communities invariably contains undisguised or camouflaged appeals for further accumulating international tensions, for unleashing another world war. These periodicals carry slanderous materials presenting a distorted picture of the international situation and Soviet foreign political acts that are in reality aimed at preserving and stabilizing world peace. They also think up stories about what's going on within the USSR.

In doing all this, Banderite propaganda follows the worst examples of the Western yellow press. It doesn't stop short of using even obvious absurdities. Sometimes, the Banderites are forced to admit that the source of what they have just published is hearsay. Still, they continue to fill the pages of their periodicals with primitive verse by senile self-styled poets. They litter them with slander, hurling pailfuls of dirt at whoever dares utter a word of truth about them.

"It is easy to work as editors of the newspapers of our biggest national emigre party wrote the *Novi Dni* (New Days) nationalist magazine in June of 1979, meaning the Banderite publications. "Despite party censorship, they can write even the greatest of nonsense, provided they put on it some patriotic attire."

The magazine was even more eloquent and to the point with regard to the upper echelons of the Banderite OUN when it wrote; "In our public, and even more so, in our political life, it is those intellectual dwarfs who are responsible for most misunderstanding and plotting. Laying ambitious claims to leadership in the esta-

blishments of general Ukrainian designation, they go far beyond the limits of moral and ethic laws... The editors of some periodicals, either because of lack of knowledge about the present reality or in pursuit of some group's interests, appear to assist these violators of the democratic political order."

The Banderites' aspiration at all costs to seize key positions in the life of the emigration and to subordinate all the other nationalist parties (the usual Bandera's technique when fighting an ideological enemy) is today opposed in all countries with emigre communities. There isn't practically a single nationalist group abroad which hasn't been sharply critical of the Banderites.

In the course of internal squabbles, plots, schemes, struggle for influence in the nationalist camp, which one of the nationalists described as "permanent cat-and-dog scratching and biting," the leaders of the reactionary Ukrainian centers hurl dirt at one another, disclosing facts from each other's scandalous, antipopular background.

The Banderites are accused of totalitarianism, of using, in their propaganda, "long-discredited slogans," of spreading, in the nationalist midst, inter-party discord, malignant plotting, struggling for power in some or other nationalist establishments and hunting for "representative" positions.

"The *hurray-patriots* of the Liberation Front," wrote *The New Pathway* on February 9, 1980, "propagate a 'permanent revolution,' in words. In deeds, they sow discord and harmful hostility in this *diaspora* community."

Another time, this newspaper pointed out that the hysterical anti-Soviet outbursts of the Banderite camp "have brought neither glory nor use to our people. On the contrary, even today, we present to outsiders our faces burning with shame because of their diplomacy."

Having proclaimed themselves as the only correct followers of the "idea of the revolutionary liberation of the Ukraine from Bolshevism," the Banderites and their shepherd Stephen Bandera and his aide Yaroslav Stetsko chose the road of betrayal and collaboration with German Nazism even before the war. It was with the occupiers' permission that Ya. Stetsko, after he had come to Lviv in the wake of the Nazis, staged, on June 30, 1941, the farce of proclaiming the "Ukrainian State in the Western Ukrainian lands." The nationalist "caliph-for-an-hour" and his associates willingly quote the "historical document of June 30" even now, only they constantly seem to forget one passage; "Glory to the heroic German Army and its Führer Adolf Hitler!"

At present, not one of the Ukrainians living abroad has any doubts about the Banderite comedy of proclaiming a "Ukrainian State" during the Nazi occupation. Here is, for example, what *The Ukrainian Voice* of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada (SUS) wrote: "Is it possible to proclaim the 'rebirth' or 'restoration' of the Ukrainian State at a small meeting of citizens in Lviv, without having any military force to protect this State? Is it possible, after such a 'proclamation,' to wait for whatever happens next (instead of going underground) and answer the summons of Lviv's

Gestapo by going there and letting oneself be hauled in like a dumb ram and then be sent to Auschwitz, and, after all this, to boast that it was thus the Ukrainian State was 'created' or 'restored'? If there are politicians somewhere in the world who can believe this possibility, let them believe."

When describing the Banderites, one cannot but mention the fact that, during WWII, they exterminated their rivals in the party struggle — the Melnyk faction. This fact has long ceased to be a secret for the broadest Ukrainian circles abroad. To save their skin, the Melnykites had even to form their own "Self-Defense Ukrainian Legion," lest the Banderites "shoot them to the last man." The nationalist press has already published a number of materials containing evidence of the "horrible fratricide," committed by the Banderites in the Western Ukrainian lands during the war.

Thus, in the spring of 1978, nationalist publications carried a series of articles by M. Pihulyak who had witnessed mass terror by the Banderites. "The glorious SB (Banderite Security Service — H. T.)," he wrote, "began to lynch all dissidents. It was then one's native land, one's father's home had ceased to be one's protection." Other witnesses corroborate that the Banderites killed not only their party enemies but also "elders, children and clergymen."

A Ukrainian Canadian by the name of M. Kondzelsky — actually, he was the first to bring up, in the press, the matter of Banderite crimes against the Ukrainian people — wrote that, reading such testimonies, "you become scared and you don't know when, where

and whom to say hello to; whether the hand you are shaking with sincerity wasn't at one time or another stained with your brother's innocent blood. In short, it is unthinkable to belong to the same organization with such people, be this organization UCC, WCFU or any other."

However, UCC and WCFU are just those nationalist associations where people whose past can by no means be called innocent have found sanctuary and an opportunity to put to good use their capabilities. Among these are characters whose conscience and hands are truly soaked in their brothers' blood.

For example, there is a man living in Canada whose name is Dmytro Kupyak (currently, he resides in Mississauga, Ont.). He is that same Kupyak, a prospering restaurant owner of Toronto who had sold his business to leave this city in haste after the Kamenyar Publishers in Lviv had released, in 1970, the booklet *The Day of Reckoning*.

Leafing through this booklet, one is not only horrified. It is something to make one sick. Contained in this publication are data borrowed from the records of investigation into the activity of the operative unit of a Banderite Security Service ("SB") force, headed by the "superbandit" Slavko Veslyar who was also known as Kley (both the then aliases of D. Kupyak).

Wherever this gang went, it left behind smoking ruins and mutilated bodies. They had to their credit atrocious killings of peaceful residents in the towns of Radekhiv and Busk, and villages in Lviv Region. The gang's death toll

also boasts almost two hundred peaceful residents from the villages of Pobuzhany, Yablunivka, Kupche, Humnyska, Lisok, Verblyany (Busk District), Bohdanivka and Zamostya (Zolochiv District) who were shot, strangled, hanged, stabbed, burned alive and put to death through inhuman tortures. Most of their prey were women, elders and children. Many children — 12-year-old Mariyka Makhovska, 14-year-old Petro Chuchman, 13-year-old Nadia Dizhak, 10-month-old Zinoviy Wujtzik...

Almost each of *The Day of Reckoning* 150 pages provides the names of the bandits' prey, including the wives, parents and children of Soviet military servicemen, Soviet village activists and their relatives, or simply probable witnesses to Banderite criminal acts. The blood-covered track of the Kley-led gang stretched from home to home, from village to village. They had mastered their murderous skill to hair-raising perfection, in many cases surpassing even their instructors — the Nazi butchers.

As was established in the course of investigation in 1969, Kupyak's gang, apart from massacres and brigandage, had burned to the ground three villages — Ostriv (Sokal District), Adamy (Busk District, Iviv Region) and Posadiv (currently in Poland). Five of the Kupyak-Kley operative unit found themselves in the dock. Their ringleader had managed to escape to Canada with his booty.

Although the appearance in print of *The Day of Reckoning* did force Kupyak to change his place of residence, even today this murderer continues to live prosperous and unharmed. Not so long, the Banderite *Homin Ukrainy*

(Ukrainian Echo) informed that Kupyak had been elected as head of the Mississauga branch of the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine. His promotion was only natural, since an organization which urges to drown in blood one half of mankind for the sake of reaching the "supreme goal" of the Ukrainian nationalists — the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship in the Ukraine — is indeed supposed to have among its functionaries an experienced bandit and killer.

Dmytro Kupyak is by no means an exceptional figure in the Banderite "league." The following are the names of former Nazi collaborators who are their secret sympathizers, though, naturally, striving not to reveal their past cooperation with the Nazis, while at the same time struggling to keep hold of the steering wheel of the nationalist organizations and determine trends in their efforts.

Serhiy Kyslyuk, member of the board, League for the Liberation of the Ukraine branch in Niagara Falls. During WWII, he directly participated in torturing and murdering Soviet citizens in Volyn.

Ivan Hevryk, a representative of what is known as the Ukrainian National Association within the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. During Nazi occupation, he was a deputy to the Regional "leader" of the OUN racket which operated under the guise of the Pidhirya Sports Society.

Yuri Hvozduych, currently a UCC advisor for contacts. Prior to the war, he underwent a course of military training at the so-called Ukrainian Legion in the Austrian Alps. Since

1941, he found himself on the criminal police force in Nazi-occupied Lviv.

Yuri Hnatiuk, a representative of the so-called Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army at UCC. During Nazi occupation, he actively cooperated with what was known as the Ukrainian Benevolent Committee (whose branch was in Chortkiv); assisting in the formation of the notorious *Waffen SS Division Galizien*.

Finally, Yaroslav Kalba, present executive director of the central organization of UCC. Under the Nazis, he first served as second-in-command at the department for the education of youth of a sonderkommando. Later, he was a staff member of the Abwehr Group 204 and Abwehr Group 220. Still later, he served in the *Waffen SS Division Galizien*.

No matter how hard former Nazi mercenaries, participants and organizers of bloody violence in the Ukrainian land during Nazi occupation try to hide their criminal past, they shall never succeed in concealing themselves from just accusations, from the condemning eyes of their people, from the glaring truth of their past deeds.

Four decades have elapsed since the "Bandera rebellion" and the separation of the so-called "revolutionary OUN." After the Second World War bloodshed, after the protracted cold war period, the international climate started to soften, gradually. Political, economic, cultural and scientific exchanges among countries with differing sociopolitical systems began to show some progress. To date, however,

the Banderite knights of cloak and dagger have not abandoned their misanthropic slogans or the treacherous techniques of their struggle.

At present, these "armchair revolutionaries" — as they are called in emigration — persist in proclaiming those same utopian slogans for an "immediate overthrow of the USSR" by way of warfare, putting those same claims to leadership which they had put dozens of years back. However, the times when the Banderite chiefs were blindly believed and followed by Ukrainians abroad have long sunk in oblivion. At first sight, even today the Stetsko-led OUN displays quite a lot of dynamics, writes the Melnykite journalist Myroslav Styranka in *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), "and yet, this is merely some bombastic demagoguery which also seems to stem from the outdated slogans expressing the outlooks of the thirties. Besides, all this is so far from what actually happens in the Ukraine and is increasingly molded to fit the "emigre" patterns.

Further on, M. Styranka accuses the Banderites and their leaders of attempts to impose, on one and all, their point of view, their "revolutionary" phraseology which, in the author's opinion, is one of the major reasons for what he calls "the almost complete emigration-political marasmus," presently engulfing all the nationalist groupings because of their own efforts.

And so the PUF-PUF party, as *Ukrainian Life* mockingly referred to the Banderite OUN in 1972 (the first three letters being the Ukrainian abbreviation for the Underground Ukrainian Front, and the last for the Party of Ukrai-

nian Fanatics), all those "party primitive and undereducated elements" who seek to be accepted by Ukrainian emigre communities as their leaders are gradually losing their positions. With their actions, they are met with increasing disgust on the part of most Ukrainian emigrants. In this sense, what is taking place is none else but a natural process whereby realistic-minded Ukrainians living abroad, together with Western public circles, are showing this pro-Nazi nationalist grouping their proper place. Increasingly often, they come out with proper rebuff to all of its attempts to sow the seeds of hostility and discord among nations.

Spectacularly, in the course of inter-party bickering and the struggle for the UCC portfolios, the Melnyk-oriented Ukrainian National Federation and the Bandera-minded League prove growingly aggressive in pushing to the backdrop all the other nationalist organizations which had in their time been recognized among the founding members of UCC (e. g., the orthodox Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada — SUS). True, at the UCC's last, 12th Congress, the SUS people succeeded in retaining their prerogatives, but this must have been their last attainment, for the fact remains that SUS has absolutely no effect on the UCC matters and its days are practically numbered.

The Ukrainian Professional Men and Businessmen Clubs' Federation (FKUPP), which refers to itself as an above-party, non-affiliated organization, has in recent years been increasingly active among those holding a firm grip on leading positions within UCC. Having some influence in business circles and being finan-

cially well provided for, FKUPP in a way supports UCC in its endeavors. In doing so, this Federation doesn't bother to take into account the fact that, more often than not, its assistance is used by the UCC higher-ups, under the pretext of "preserving Ukrainian identity in a foreign midst," for bombastic politicking, all kinds of "representations" and "official trips." Such indifferent attitude to its own reputation may well lead the Federation to where it will lose its face in the eyes of both the Ukrainian ethnic groups and the Canadian public. Eventually, it may find itself in that unattractive position in which are today the right extremist Ukrainian groupings abroad and in which UCC has finally found itself.

Whose friends are they?

Trying to win the trust and sympathies of the Ukrainian Canadian community, the nationalist leaders willingly gamble on democratic slogans, don the robes of "democrats" and "mouthpieces of the people's interests," shout about their "love and respect" for the working folk and about their "sincere concern" with the people's interests. However, these are mere declarations which have never been confirmed by deeds. The entire activity of the nationalist "champions of democracy and freedom" serves as an eloquent evidence of the fact that the nationalist groups and centers, being in the service of most reactionary imperialist circles, have been and are still fulfilling the dirtiest assignments of monopolies in their struggle against the working masses.

Canada's modern political and economic instability tells especially heavily on this country's working people. According to Canadian statisticians, inflation has registered an average of 10 per cent increase within the past five years. As a result, workers' real wages have been constantly dropping. In the meantime, the corporations' incomes have grown by 58.3 per cent.

Economists predict that the number of the unemployed in the capitalist countries will increase from 16,000,000 in 1979 to 19.5 million in 1980. In July of this year, there were 904,000 jobless people in Canada — almost 8 per cent of the able-bodied population.

It is under these circumstances that the nationalist propagandists constantly come out in support of the monopolies which, they claim, are simply robbed by the working class, especially by the unemployed. One often finds in the nationalist press materials whose authors enlarge upon what they call "immorality" of the allowances granted the jobless. They demand that all forms of such assistance be immediately rescinded. In their opinion, unemployment aid "corrupts the working man, makes him an idler and leads to his degradation."

Any reasonable person can understand the reasons and methods of the class struggle waged by the Canadian workers. But not the nationalists. They spare no foul language, slander, you name it, in denouncing workers' efforts to protect their political and economic rights. This is only natural, because the nationalists have always served the interests of the exploiter classes.

Here is an example. In 1976, sports facilities were being built in Montreal for the coming Olympics. When Canadian trade unions supported the striking workers' just demands, the nationalist centers — especially those of the Banderite camp — immediately began to publish slanderous materials, striving to implant in their readers a negative attitude toward the trade unions and strikes as a form of class struggle.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist elite regards with the same hostility the interests of the Ukrainian Canadian working masses which also suffer a lot from the old policy of discrimination concerning ethnic minorities.

Actually, the Ukrainian ethnic group which, numerically, places fifth in Canada (after the English, French, German and Italian Canadians) is, in the words of nationalist propaganda, "one of the least regarded nations in the country." Even the "learned" nationalist sociologists recognize this. Let us refer ourselves to facts.

At the end of 1978, Ottawa was the venue of a conference to study social trends in the Ukrainian midst. Analyzing the current socioeconomic situation in Canada and relying on the available censuses, the conference participants had to admit that, at present, the Ukrainian Canadians are, in effect, at a lower social level. The conference's documents became another proof that the nationalist chiefs, including those of UCC, by no means supplement their declarations about their concern for the matters of the Ukrainian community in Canada with practical endeavors. Concealed behind these declarations are their authors' perfect indifference, if not hos-

tility, toward what genuinely concerns the bulk of the Ukrainians in Canada. The nationalist leadership's undivided attention, time and material means are dedicated only to politicking, aimless prattle, and, of course, to anti-Soviet activity.

The rates of assimilation among the Canadian population of Ukrainian descent, the conference pointed out, are increasing. As a result of the process of urbanization and a more active involvement of Ukrainian Canadians in the country's economic and social life, the cultural and language assimilation is rapid. As for the Ukrainian language itself, it was further noted, only 26-27 per cent of the Ukrainian Canadians in Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan knew it, and 18.2 per cent in Alberta. In other Canadian provinces, this percentage is even lower.

Assimilation proves to be especially quick among the youth. By way of comparison, an average of 93 per cent of the Ukrainian Canadians aged between 20 and 30 knew their mother tongue in 1951. The year 1971 registered 47.6 per cent.

Assimilation processes have made quite an impact even on the religious life. Almost one half of the Ukrainian Canadian believers have astrayed themselves from the so-called Ukrainian churches and the predominant English and French Canadian ones.

The economic problems are as pressing. Nationalist researchers — in particular, R. Petryshyn — recognize that Ukrainians of all the three "waves" of emigration became engaged in the Canadian economy, getting job placements whose "status was lower than the coun-

try's average." Canada's immigration policy was racial and discriminative, aimed at the creation of a system of ethnic stratification. In many respects, this system is effective even now. In employment distribution, preference was given to Anglo-Saxons and other North European emigres, whereas what was considered less attractive occupations was left for "less wanted people." The latter category embraced East and South Europeans, including Ukrainians. So Ukrainian emigres, by and large, cultivated virgin lands in prairies, earned their living by farming, felling trees, building roads, etc. Back in 1931, the share of Ukrainians doing preparatory and unskilled jobs was in excess of 30 per cent. That of Anglo-Saxons constituted 13 per cent, Germans and Dutch 12.5 per cent and Jews 3.2 per cent. In 1951, the Ukrainian emigres were the last but one of the Canadian ethnic groups in the list of average incomes and education.

Bourgeois scholars believe the average income level to be among the most important criteria in determining the individual's status in a capitalist society. What is the situation with the Ukrainian ethnic group like today?

According to the Royal Bilingual and Bicultural Commission (1969), the average income of working Ukrainians was third from the end, in 1961, superior only to those of French and Italian Canadians. The 1971 census showed that, since 1961, the average earnings of the Ukrainian employees had become smaller than those of the French and Italian Canadians and were now the lowest among the Canadian ethnic groups, excluding Indians and Eskimo.

The Ukrainian Canadians haven't made any spectacular progress in the country's economy, administrative apparatus or the media where the key positions are firmly held by English and, partially, French Canadians. Except for the Jews, the "road on top" is practically barred from the other ethnic groups. Such is the conclusion R. Petryshyn makes, having studied the works of a number of bourgeois scientists.

An analysis of the current situation with the Ukrainian population has led nationalist sociologists to the following rather eloquent conclusions. Although they no longer suffer from discrimination as they had previously, the position of the Ukrainian Canadians in the lower half of the Canadian system of ethnic stratification remains the same as it had been several decades ago when they had first settled in the country.

In other words, there is a vast field of endeavor for all those who are indeed concerned with the future of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada, who take close to heart all the difficulties which this group encounters in its daily life. But what has been done so far by the Ukrainian nationalist organizations in Canada — specifically, UCC — in order to improve the situation with the Ukrainian population? There is every reason to state that this particular activity interests the leaders of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist centers the least. While proclaiming themselves representatives of the entire Ukrainian ethnic groups and declaring, "for appearance's sake," their "engagement" in Ukrainian problems and their care for the whole of the Ukrainian community, they in reality de-

dedicate all their efforts and funds to bombastic politicking, utterly ignoring the vital needs of the Ukrainian Canadian masses.

That the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are alien to the Canadian working people, including those of Ukrainian parentage, is rather vividly demonstrated during election campaigns. Quite consistently, on the eve of the federal and provincial elections, the entire nationalist press votes for those candidates who express the interests of the exploiter class, are the proteges of the monopolies and who oppose detente. In general, whatever domestic or international topic is touched upon by nationalist propaganda, the latter invariably expresses sympathy for the right extremists, the hawks. It is to them that the nationalists tie their hopes — not only for their future in Canada, but also for their maniacal plans for the “liberation” of the Ukraine, or at least, for ensuring themselves better conjunctures along these lines.

In expressing the interests of the rightist circles, the nationalist groups carry on a constant and active propaganda campaign, geared to discredit not only progressive but even moderate Canadian politicians who soberly evaluate the world situation and feel compelled to take into consideration the demands of the times — which means that, in some or other way, these politicians pursue or support the policy of peaceful coexistence. The nationalists practically struggle against all who do not take the stand of international discord, who speak against war and against undermining neighborly relationships among different countries.

Those politicians who recognize the necessity

of peaceful cooperation among world nations are enemies to the UCC "champions of independence." By accepting peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries, these "champions" complain, Western politicians obviously abide by only their own economic benefits and refuse to consider the political aspect of this business, having forgotten about their "moral duty to facilitate the liberation of the enslaved peoples" and support "opposition moods" in the USSR.

It is also from this point of view that the Canadian government is criticized. This criticism proves to be a component of the subversive activity of the Canadian ultras. The latter purport to lead the Canadian administration to the road of political and military opportunism. This became especially noticeable under the Progressive Conservatives. In the early 1970s, the nationalist "liberation" centers unleashed a large-scale propaganda campaign to undermine trust in Pierre Elliott Trudeau. The worst pain in the neck of outspoken nationalist anti-communists at that period was the prospect of bettering relations between Canada and the Soviet Union and the international situation in general. Thus, almost every Ukrainian nationalist newspaper criticized the Canadian Premier for his visit to the USSR in 1971. In connection with the signing of the Canada-USSR Protocol for consultations to promote contacts between the two countries, the nationalist media raised a lament about the "open sale of Canadian interests" and "Canada's orientation toward the Soviet Union, against America."

"We are living," wrote *Vilne Slovo* (The Free Word), "in the last period of Canada's transition

from a free democratic country to a country of Trudeau's dictatorship, a dictatorship of the Castro type." Trudeau was branded as a "communist," a "Sovietophile," he was accused of leading Canada to socialism. Senator P. Juzyk, a Ukrainian nationalist lobbyist, went so far as to call the head of the Canadian government a "hypocrite."

Determined to stir an appropriate public opinion, during the 1972 federal election campaign, the yellow-blue* propaganda machine directed its main effort toward depreciating the Canadian-Soviet consultations agreement and undermining the two countries' neighborly relations. "We the Ukrainians," *Schlach Peremohy* (The Way of Victory) ranted, "are cursing that time and place when and where this scandalous 'protocol' was signed. God forbid that Trudeau rule Canada any longer and put all this protocol's clauses into practice." The reactionary Ukrainian newspapers *Ukrainian Echo*, *Ukrainian Voice*, *Free World* and *Schlach Peremohy* actively urged the Ukrainian Canadians against voting for Trudeau and his party.

Characteristically, the nationalist campaign against the Liberals and their leader continued far as long as this party was in office. The administration was unwilling to spoil the neighborly contacts between the two big powers to please the handful of bankrupt nationalist politicians behind this campaign, which infuriated them beyond measure. In particular, they pounced on the Federal Government and Prime Minister

* After the colors of the Ukrainian nationalist flag.

Trudeau for their refusal to come out officially in support of their anti-Soviet campaigns.

As always, the loudest howl issued from the right extremist faction of the nationalist camp — the Banderites. Their treacherous actions to this end deserve special notice. The Canadian *Ukrainian Echo*, lest it should get into trouble, turned the job of hurling pailfuls of dirty slander at the Canadian authorities over to its West German counterpart. On November 9, 1975, the Munich-based *The Way of Victory* carried the article "The Canadian Premier's Prophile." It claimed that Trudeau's "greatest guilt" was his visit to the USSR in 1971. "The Ukrainians will never forgive this to him," threatened *The Way*, "...no Trudeaus have the right to stand in our way to freedom!"

It was in a similar manner that the nationalists tried to influence the latest, 1980, federal elections in Canada. They didn't even try to conceal their sympathy for the Liberal J. Clark whose government spent nine months trying to deepen the discrimination of the working population, legalize the cruelest possible manner of workers' exploitation by the monopolies, and to sharpen relationships between Canada and the Soviet Union. Naturally, this domestic and foreign political course was much to the liking of the nationalist advocates of international discord. Neither did they hide satisfaction over the support, by representatives of the military-industrial complex, of the arms race. They commented favorably on NATO's aggressive slogans and expressed hopes that the reactionary forces would continue to guide Canada along the road of international tensions.

So much the greater was the chagrin of the Ukrainian nationalists when the Clark cabinet received the vote of no-confidence.

"Don't give your votes for Trudeau!" urged *The New Pathway* on the eve of the elections (February 16, 1980). Let's face the truth; by making public their anti-Trudeau attitude, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists in Canada placed themselves in a rather embarrassing situation. Already four days later, on February 20, they had to "greet" him on his victory at the elections. The nationalist media informed that the UCC governing core had forwarded a telegram to Trudeau in which it "congratulated him on the victorious election and wished him success." Truly a nationalist manifestation of "consistency" and "principled stand"!

Their campaign of smearing Western bourgeois statesmen who back up peaceful cooperation and decline to connive at their schemings, designed after the worst periods of international tensions, the nationalists always combine with a vigorous search for "friends of the Ukrainian Cause" among the rich of the capitalist world. They find ones, because the anti-Soviet orientation of all the Ukrainian nationalist centers, the constant readiness of their leaders to subordinate the interests of the entire Ukrainian community abroad to their "liberation" politicking are invariably met with approval by the right extremists of their countries of residence. As the Ukrainian saying goes, "There is a merchant for any goods."

And yet, one can rather often read complaints in the nationalist press that there isn't enough "conjuncture," and that the public of the given

country of residence either misunderstands or even turns an angry eye on the "liberation struggle" of the Ukrainian reactionaries abroad. Anatole Kabajda, an active Melnykiste journalist, writes that, apparently, the question of an "independent" Ukraine isn't among the popular world topics, and that Ukrainians living abroad are mentioned in the world press "only when there is something negative to be said about them." Even the efforts of those Western reactionary figures who maintain close contacts with the Ukrainian nationalists cannot change this situation. "It seems," continues Kabajda, "that world public opinion is not inspired by the friends we have chosen, whom we present with Ukrainian hand-embroidered shirts and woodcarvings and who speak with such ardor and patriotism at our various meetings and demonstrations." He further notes that even many of the "most patriotic-minded" Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists do not expect any spectacular results from this cooperation. They are content when "some Government or State functionary allows to have his message published in a program sheet or, having kindly accepted a gift, says a few unobliging catchwords at some meetings."

Indeed, a humiliating friendship!

Canadian reaction, jointly with the nationalist turncoats, tries to instill a hostile attitude to the Soviet Union in people's minds. Together, they sow the seeds of discord among nations and seek to push Canada along the road leading to international tensions. However, these endeavors are met with due rebuff by the Canadian public, by all sober-minded Canadians who are

increasingly aware of who their true friends and enemies are.

The nationalists are invariably among those trying at all costs to curb the advancement of neighborly contacts between countries with differing social systems. They are always allied to forces determined to stop the process of detente, and this clearly exposes their actual identity as enemies of both the Canadian and the Soviet people, as champions of war which they advertise as the only way of solving all international problems.

When the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was set up, its founders talked much about the "public and cultural-educational nature of this all-Canadian-Ukrainian establishment," about its "care for the preservation of Ukrainian identity in this alien midst," etc. Similar declarations were made by the UCC elite in subsequent years. Yet, all this big talk has proved a soap bubble as the entire activity of this nationalist association, from the day of its inception until now, has boiled down to brazen anti-Sovietism and efforts aimed against world peace and detente, to instill in Canadians hostility and distrust toward the USSR, and to stage various anti-Soviet demonstrations. With an insistence verging on mania, the UCC upper echelons write numerous "appeals," "petitions," "complaints" and "telegrams" to the Canadian government, the Secretary of State for Internal Affairs, also to various international bodies, pressing them to interfere with the Soviet Union's internal affairs, support their invented "resistance movement" there and protect the right to conduct subversive anti-Soviet activity.

That this is really so, is apparent if only one remembers what kind of hubbub the brass hats of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist organizations raised in protest against the policy of detente, how actively they resisted understanding and cooperating among nations, what a violent campaign they tried to unleash in order to cast aspersions on the very idea of peaceful settlement of disputes between countries, to shake Western public faith in the USSR's peace initiatives, to kill any hopes for peace and the prevention of war.

Not content with their "protests," "appeals" and "petitions," the nationalist leaders have done quite a lot to put in an appearance, with their anti-Soviet provocations, at international forums as well. Naturally, every time they went to the wall. Still, all these failures haven't taught the UCC politicians a single lesson. They keep the ball running.

The successful holding of the Helsinki and the Belgrade conferences and the efforts of Soviet diplomats to assert the principles of peaceful coexistence have placed the rulers of the nationalist camp in a difficult situation. Struggling to keep Ukrainians abroad under control, they have tried to persuade them that detente would be short-lived, calling it a castle in the air. They have spared no pains trying to convince people that detente serves the good of only the Soviet side and demanded from the Canadian government that it make the signing of economic agreements with the USSR dependent on the latter's political concessions.

Canadian-Soviet economic cooperation piques the nationalist chiefs especially badly. Seeing

in the extending bilateral trade exchanges Canada's "voluntary" contribution to the USSR's economic and military potential, nationalist propaganda rings the tocsin. "Horrible things are being done.... One must protest against them, write letters.... One cannot sit on one's hands in a situation such as this!" And so, peaceful cooperation between the two countries is to the nationalist enemies of detente a "horrible thing." Yellow-blue propaganda has never let it slip that this cooperation gives jobs and a living to tens of thousands of Canadian workers.

Pouncing on anything undertaken to soften the international climate, Ukrainian reactionary propaganda abroad slurs the foreign policy of the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union, trying to sow the seeds of distrust of the USSR's peaceful acts. The nationalists concentrate fire on literary every step taken in the direction of improving relationships between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries. They bring before the public the fact of the enhancement of the socialist community to intimidate the Western Philistine by the invented "Soviet military threat."

Falsifying the USSR's stand, the Ukrainian reactionary press carried malignant comments on the second round of Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT-II). The very thought about the possibility of such an agreement between the two superpowers sends the nationalist editors delirious with rage. "No SALTs, cultural exchanges or detentes can guarantee peace in the world. On the converse, they may well bring about another war, with

the West standing a slimmer chance of surviving or winning it," expostulated the pro-Banderite *Free World* (June 25, 1979). This quotation shows how easily a nationalist propagandist can interpret international developments in an anti-Soviet manner. All he needs is to turn facts topsy-turvy.

It is precisely this technique, so well tested by the nationalists, that *Homin Ukrainy*, the organ of the Canadian League of the Ukraine's Liberation, employs quite extensively. Thus, in the article "Will SALT-II Avert the Threat of War?", this newspaper cynically wrote that the strategic arms limitation agreement "can only heighten the risk of war, when Western societies will lull themselves by unjustified myths about disarmament, peace and world security." As though spellbound, *Echo's* editors repeat, in every issue, allegations concerning "Moscow's continuous advance on Western positions," "the necessity of counterbalancing force by force" and the "pressing need" in reinforcing the materiel of the armies of capitalist countries, NATO forces. In each issue, *Ukrainian Echo* calls for another war.

In terms of falsifying the international situation, casting aspersions on Soviet foreign political moves and trying to confuse the reader, make him believe that it is necessary "once and for all to put an end to this treacherous detente," Melnykite propaganda is by no means inferior to that of the Banderites. In particular, *The New Pathway* constantly carries importunate appeals for the militarization of industries in capitalist countries, and includes, in almost every issue, slanderous materials whose sole purpose is to

prove the "harm detente is causing the Western countries" and the necessity of switching to the policy of "confrontation of forces."

Ukrainian reaction abroad has always linked its plans for the "liberation" of the Ukraine from her people's rule and for the establishment there of the capitalist order to its hopes for foreign bayonets, for a military intervention. Once, it was the Triple Entente and the German kaiser, then Nazi Germany. At present, the right extremist Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist leaders seek guardians and friends among the enemies of detente, the USSR and the socialist countries. With cynical frankness, they declare that war is their only hope of achieving the "liberation" of the Ukraine. The Banderite media is especially active in calling for a crusade against the USSR. To *Ukrainian Echo* belongs the disgustingly frank phrase about a third world war (in which one half or more of mankind must perish) as the "aptest opportunity" for the Ukrainian "liberators." "We will follow the devil himself if he is against Moscow," proclaimed Leonid Rikhtytsky, * an active nationalist propagator of war. "Today, our quiet hopes are aimed at a military reprisal against Russia, also hopes that this conflict will give us a new historical chance," wrote this former member of the Waffen SS Division Galizien in *Svoboda* at the end of 1978.

This search for a "new historical chance" has more than once resulted in their going to the

* L. Rikhtytsky is the pseudonym of one Stepan Lyubomyrsky, former Nazi collaborator who swore allegiance to the "Third Reich and its Führer," as testified to in the nationalist press.

wall, until finally the nationalists found the way to the Great Wall of China. They don't even conceal their banking on the militaristic foreign political course of the present Peking administration. They count on the possibility of China's being drawn in an armed conflict with the USSR and other socialist countries. They even predict their tactic in the event of war between China and the Soviet Union. Rikhtytsky published a maniacal article in a Banderite newspaper under the title "Possibilities for a Sino-Soviet Clash." In it, he drew the following picture. If China wins the war against the USSR, "it will have to choose between remaining in the Ukraine as an occupational force, and then we will have to reckon with a Chinese governor even in Kiev...."

In its articles about war, the nationalist press comes out as a mouthpiece of the most reactionary forces of the West. It reprints militant articles by NATO generals and representatives of the military-industrial complex; also slanderous anti-Soviet materials from the Western and Chinese medias. Much fuss is raised round the USSR's internationalist aid to Afghanistan to protect this country from the imperialist threat.

It is a characteristic fact that, whereas the Banderite media — specifically, *Ukrainian Echo* — openly brandishes before the readers the acrid-smoking torch of war, the Melnykite press, particularly the Canadian periodicals, avoid such blunt war propaganda (which it calls "foolish"). The Melnykites generally consider their own methods subtler.

Still, their banking on war as a means of solving all problems makes the Melnykites no

different from the Banderites, except, perhaps, that the former's phraseology is more carefully chosen.

Today's sharpening of the international situation, the worsening of American-Soviet relations are caused by the militaristic foreign political stand of the White House. Needless to say, the nationalist enemies of detente are quite satisfied by this course of events and hope for furthering international tensions.

But even in these circumstances the nationalists criticize capitalist governments — first of all, the U.S. administration — for “indecisiveness,” “slowness” and “infatuation” in their relationships with the Soviet Union. On March 22, 1980, for example, *The New Pathway* urged the American government, instead of practicing economic sanctions against the USSR, to deal a “direct military blow” to it, because, the newspaper reasoned, the government “will have to resort to such a blow sooner or later.”

As of late, this Melnykite periodical, apart from its usual articles propagating “military confrontation,” has started to reprint a lot of militant materials from other Western medias, also information bulletins of U.S. military intelligence, articles from Army journals, etc. The warmongers try to justify their actions by the invented “Soviet military threat” and the legend about military buildups on Soviet frontiers, and not only there but, allegedly, elsewhere in the world. Among other things, mention is being made of the USSR's testing new armaments, and so on.

It should be stressed that, fabricating all this falsehood, the nationalist periodicals stoop to

the cheapest of canards, willingly reprinting even plain gibberish. Thus, they advertised the book of the retired British General John Hackett in which he sets the date of the beginning of the Third World War (August 1985) and gives a detailed account of its turbulent phases.

As advocates of another world war, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists also oppose cultural exchanges between countries and between the Ukrainians living abroad and the land of their forefathers.

World tourism today rapidly expands. Visits to the Soviet Union, to the Ukraine make a profound impact on Ukrainians overseas, on entire ethnic groups, abruptly changing moods there, much to the detriment of the wheelings and dealings of the reactionary nationalist elite. This, of course, causes the latter to worry a lot.

The UCC yellow-blue leaders have for years been convincing Ukrainian Canadians of the "uselessness" and even "harmfulness" of contacts with the Soviet Ukraine, urging them not to visit there and not to accept visitors from there. Determined to torpedo cultural exchanges, they use the dirtiest means of misinformation, bullying, blackmailing, slurring, and even resort to acts of hooliganism against Soviet visitors or those who appear to be willing to communicate with them.

Banderite and Melnykite hysterical attacks on cultural exchanges are explained, first and foremost, by the fears of the nationalist elite that the truth about the modern life of the Soviet Ukrainian people will eventually spread over the Ukrainian Canadian community. What they

dread is the fact that, after a trip to the Ukrainian SSR, a Canadian tourist becomes convinced of the absolute groundlessness of nationalist allegations about the present situation with the Ukraine. Even more so, such a tourist "loses his worth as an anti-Bolshevik force," declared the nationalists several years ago. Quite recently, the Paris-based *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) also disclosed what lay behind its opposition to cultural contacts. The most unwelcome result of trips to the Ukraine, it wrote, is the fact that a number of tourists afterward "disappear from the horizon of the organized Ukrainian community."

In other words, these people no longer participate in anti-Soviet nationalist activities.

The furthering of contacts and the fear of changing moods in the Ukrainian midst abroad in favor of such contacts forced the nationalist leadership to take urgent steps. In the mid-seventies, the UCC rulers published a number of statements condemning cultural exchanges as "Soviet infiltration" and even brazenly demanded that the Ukrainians in Canada and some other countries stop all contacts with the Soviet Union.

In the meantime, the Melnykite Ukrainian National Federation published a special decree in *The New Pathway*, whereby all UNF members were strongly forbidden to attend any Soviet cultural undertakings in Canada.

Thus, UCC raised a great hullabaloo over the dance seminars in the Ukraine, the one for amateur choral conductors in Winnipeg and the Ukrainian language courses for Canadian

teachers, sponsored by Kiev University. Under-educated as they are, the nationalist editors had the nerve to claim that the language courses in Kiev taught "incorrect Ukrainian." Some critics!

As malignant were the comments of the reactionary Ukrainian press on the trip of the Winnipeg-based Koshetz Choir to the Ukrainian SSR.

Try as it might, UCC never succeeded in persuading Dr. R. Begg, President of the University of Saskatchewan to go back on his agreement to have the statue of Lesya Ukrainka — a gift from the Ukraina Society to the Ukrainian Canadians — unveiled on the campus grounds. Ranting and raving at this event, calling it a "communist subversion" and an "advance on Canadian society," *Ukrainian Echo* went so far as to call the Lesya Ukrainka statue a "Trojan horse."

The vain and yet harmful efforts of the nationalist leaders to prevent the Ukrainian Canadian community from maintaining contacts with the country of their origin is condemned by the Canadian democratic public, in the first place by progressive Ukrainian Canadian organizations. *The Life and Word*, one of the progressive Ukrainian Canadian periodicals, correctly noted that, by trying to keep Ukrainian youth abroad from getting acquainted with the present-day Ukraine, the UCC leadership robs its own children and grandchildren, in that they deprive them of any opportunity of learning the history, culture and language of their nation.

Another progressive Ukrainian newspaper, published in New York (U.S.A.), wrote that

UCC's loud propaganda, ranging from the "isolation to the boycott of tourist trips to the Ukraine.... the campaign of distorting facts and reality are the lamenting of a bankrupt, deadly scared by the ghost of his own isolation from the society of the living."

Often, even the right extremist Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist publications complain of the futility of their endeavors and of the misunderstanding between the nationalists and vast emigre masses. Even the West, they whimper, "fails to comprehend the Ukrainian liberation efforts," that it doesn't help and even sometimes counteracts the anti-Soviet deliberations of the nationalist centers, prohibits certain of their actions, aimed against the USSR.

Here, the nationalists obviously get carried away in their complaining — which is their inborn habit. Of course, they don't really mean the West as a whole. They mean its separate statesmen who are beginning to see the true worth of the so-called "Ukrainian liberation cause" and its champions. As for the progressive Western public, it has been, and is still, condemning the anti-Soviet wheelings and dealings of the nationalists and those reactionary circles which use them in pursuit of their own ignominious goals.

Staggering blows

Despite all their efforts, the rulers of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist groupings cannot conceal the further deepening and widening of such

processes within the nationalist camp as political and moral decay and growing apathy. The Ukrainian masses abroad are increasingly distrustful of the nationalist slogans. More and more often, voices of disappointment are heard in the nationalist media. This is evidence enough of the growing number of Ukrainians living overseas who have begun to understand the hopelessness of the "struggle for an independent Ukraine" and of the very existence of the "liberation" anti-Soviet centers. Separate nationalist functionaries and newspaper editors are now forced not only to acknowledge these phenomena but also to concede their regularity.

Back in the early 1970s, *Ukrainsky Samostiy-nyk* (Ukrainian Independent) of the so-called OUN Foreign Branches (this magazine is now non-existent) had to admit; "Put together, the members and sympathizers of all our parties constitute only a small fragment of the Ukrainian *diaspora* and we know this well, even from the circulations of party publications. The sphere of Ukrainian politics has narrowed and shrunk." Oleg Ilnytsky, Chairman of the Student Group in New York (at present, he teaches Ukrainian language and literature at Manitoba University), wrote, in unison with *Ukrainian Independent*, that "Ukrainian society (i.e., Ukrainians living overseas — H.T.) faces a great crisis threatening the entire organized life."

Thoughts about the crisis of the "entire organized life" of the emigre masses, about their withdrawal from the senseless "liberation" politicking of the nationalists, about the unwillingness of the younger emigre generation to adhere to the elders' discredited nationalist slogans are

present in many of the writings by nationalist journalists of the subsequent years. The authors complain of the furthering "process of deepening and widening political confusion and chaos in the emigre midst," of the "total depoliticizing of the masses" and "complete political split and anarchy."

"Eighty per cent of all the Ukrainians stand aloof from our organized life," wrote *Svoboda*, with alarm, at the end of 1974. The following year, one D. Bohachevsky corrected this statistic in his article "Consolidation" (*Ukrainian Life*, Chicago). He wrote that there is a "multitude" of different yellow-blue groupings in the emigration, and that "each group, every denomination, each party and every faction claims — and sincerely believes it — that it is the sole representative of the entire people. This is apparently fictitious, because it would be hard to find a single organization here which has at least one per cent of the Ukrainian emigres among its members....."

The recognition, by the nationalist media, of the crisis which is eating away the so-called political and public organizations of the nationalists is accompanied by the attempts of the authors of some materials on the subject to take an objectivistic stand with regard to determining the reasons behind this crucial situation. The fact alone that "the nationalists have been abandoned by their own children" is, in part, explained by *Ukrainian Life* which says that the "unreality of the tasks, ideas and goals" as proclaimed by the nationalist "Establishment," by their being "out of touch with life" must be considered to this end.

These 80 per cent of the Ukrainians living abroad, continues this newspaper, see that "they are fed bluff and sheer phrases, and that there is nothing behind the beautiful slogans, that rhetoric is used to overshadow essence, that wishes surpass possibilities — and capabilities — and that, concealed behind vociferously lauded idealism, is party clique and even personal corruption. These 80 per cent do not want to be the same patriots as those 20 per cent who have appropriated the right and mandate to speak on behalf of the entire people." Ukrainians abroad are well aware that the upper echelons of the reactionary groups conceal under their patriotic slogans their "activity" which, in reality, boils down to "banquets, festive gatherings, parties and setting up various kinds of funds, from which no apparent payments are made to anybody."

Further on, *Ukrainian Life* discloses the actual condition of the nationalist public and the so-called political associations. This condition is carefully hidden by the nationalist leaders. "In the church field, there is a deepening split and departure from genuine piety; in the political field, there is terror, nihilism and anarchy — the greatest in the history of our emigration; in the public field, there is soothing public demands by declaring unreal, fantastic and opportunistic slogans; in the benevolent field, there is using funds — not for those in real need, but to finance trips, representations, high-ranking social functions and banquets...." Indeed, this picture needs no comment.

Therefore, it is small wonder, the Chicago newspaper sums up, that the emigre masses

"maintain a tight grip on their hard-earned bucks and do not let themselves be moved by the 'ideas' and 'exploits' of the nationalist politicians."

Against the background of this reality, the "accounts" and "information items" of the nationalist press, concerning "grand" assemblies, meetings, manifestations, parties, gala functions, "academies," as well as their tales about the "mass participation" of Ukrainians abroad in nationalist undertakings sound quite ridiculous.

In the meantime, some of the participants in these undertakings often concede that the leaders of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist groups cheat the public by claiming their wishes as accomplished facts. "If you visit our Ukrainian festivities," *Free World* wrote on December 23, 1974, "you will hear how every 'patriot,' while downing another glass, builds the Ukraine by 'groping in the darkness,' for some simply won't know what they will be talking about. The reason is, these people don't read anything on the subject."

The primitiveness of nationalist gatherings and the low intellectual level of the speakers are time and again subject to newspaper witticisms and sheer ridiculing. Here is an eloquent example. During last year's celebrations of the OUN's 50th anniversary, one of the speakers displayed his "keen intellect" when he declared that Ukrainian nationalism had been inherent in "our people" since time out of mind, and that it was even described in *The Lay of the Host of Igor*. One of the subscribers of *The New Pathway* — obviously a person in command of some sense of humor — sent a letter to the editors which they promptly published. "I simply must

buy this book," he wrote, clearly laughing at the ignorant speaker. "I have heard about the Old Rus Grand Duke's host, about his warriors, about various legions, rebels, about the Ukrainian division, but I have never heard of the regiment commanded by a nationalist under the alias of Igor." Indeed, why should the Ukrainian nationalists care for historical facts or bother about historical truth? They want to make them anew, after their most favored designs. They seem to abide by the Ukrainian saying that, if facts do not coincide with your wishes, so much the worse for the facts.

Often, reactionary periodicals write that nationalist celebrations are usually "extremely boring and uninteresting," that most of them are staged for the sole purpose of emptying emigre purses, and that speeches at such parties almost invariably "have a hypnotizing effect." Precisely these impressions are to be found in an article by one Oxana Satsevykh, in the column "Young Pen" (*The New Pathway*, February 23, 1980) who had attended the much-advertised "statehood" festivities on January 27, 1980, in Toronto.

Allegedly founded to coordinate the efforts of the nationalist organizations in Canada, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC), in reality, turned into an arena of deadly struggle between the leaders of the different factions making up this Committee, for influence and leading posts.

The chronic malice between the UCC components is caused, in particular, by the fact that they stand on different religious and political platforms. The Melnykites of the Ukrainian Na-

tional Federation hate the Banderites of the Canadian League of the Ukraine's Liberation, whereas the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada is irreconcilable in its opposition to the Banderites, Melnykites and the monarchists of the United Hetman Organizations. At the same time, being a Greek Orthodox organization, there is no love lost between it and the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Canada. Sharp divergencies also ensue from the polarized views on what is termed the Ukrainian Government and Parliament in Exile — the Ukrainian National Council — as well as on the attitude to the Ukrainian SSR, cultural exchanges, tourism, economic and political cooperation between the capitalist countries with Ukrainian communities and the USSR. The only thing which keeps this heterogeneous company in one piece is its mutually shared hatred of progressive ideas, the progressive movement, the Soviet Union and the Soviet Ukraine.

Bickering among the UCC different groupings turns out to be a permanent phenomenon. Still, on the eve of another so-called Congress to distribute seats in the UCC governing core, this squabble gains such momentum that the entire nationalist conglomerate is seriously in danger of bursting from within and liquidating itself.

As a matter of fact, each UCC Congress brings a fresh impetus to the internal strife. Another interesting detail is that at every Congress problems presented for solution — or for debating, to be precise, for the nationalists never solve any problems — become increasingly trifle. This characterizes UCC as a decaying organization. If once they fought, during con-

gresses, over the problem of who would be President (and this was a very significant moment in their internal struggle for power), at the latest, 12th, Congress (Winnipeg, 1977), the Committee higher-ups measured swords over who would deliver the main report. Next, they will, perhaps, debate the question if they ought to gather for the Congress at all, and if so, who is to attend it in particular.

One of the rawest spots, upon touching which representatives of the different nationalist groups easily come to grips, grabbing each other by the collar and hair, is the so-called question of statute changes (i.e., deciding on who is the next to rule UCC and who is to handle its purse). At all the recent congresses, this problem turned out as a kind of apple of discord. Because of it, the nationalists in Canada haven't been able to keep a single such assembly within the limits of decency. Sooner or later, all hell broke loose at each Congress.

That this was really so, is seen from the fact that two of the three working days of the 10th Congress (1971) were spent in heated discussions of the "statute changes." I. Yu. Karasevych Sr., Chairman of the Statute Commission, in an attempt to calm down the fuming delegates, suggested that the discussion be postponed until the last day of the sittings.... and asked to be relieved of his duties as Chairman. His request was granted.

During the sittings, the situation at times reached the degree of tension where complete disintegration seemed imminent. The 10th Congress could have easily become the last in UCC history. The Uniate press later noted that

reigning at the Congress had been "unrestrained human ambitions," "scheming," "misunderstanding," "party shallowness and getting even with one another."

No less stormy was the final discussion. The late Mikhailo Sosnovsky, one of the functionaries of what is known as the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU), described it in the following words; "The question of organizational changes.... became the topic of so heated a debate that there was a very real danger of wrecking the remaining sittings of the Congress."

In general, the nationalist periodicals had to admit that, whereas the UCC member organizations had gathered for the 10th Congress "more disunited than ever before," in an atmosphere of "internal misunderstanding, bickering, severe competition and in an almost chaotic state," the 10th Congress had become a symbol of complete confusion in the nationalist camp. It had furthered the internal strife and practically marked the beginning of another, even crueler stage in the inter-group struggle in the nationalist midst of Canada.

"At times, one simply could not bring oneself to believe that we are so helpless and inconsiderate," *Ukrainian Voice* of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada grieved over the events at the 10th Congress. The Catholic newspaper *Postup* (Progress) had to sum up the situation; "there was little needed to turn the Congress into chaos."

The statute question — or, rather, the struggle for influence within UCC — was also a crucial point on the agenda of the 11th Congress

(1974). True, following the demand of their employers, the UCC chiefs also paid considerable attention to anti-Sovietism and malicious attacks on cultural contacts with the Soviet Ukraine. By a special resolution, the Congress denounced cultural exchanges as "unilateral" and threatened all the UCC members with boycott and expulsion, should any of them dare to violate this resolution.

"Unilateral" cultural exchanges appears to an old theme with the nationalists. In the meantime, it is a well-known fact in Canada and elsewhere that, in recent years, the Ukraine has been visited by the Koshetz Choir, the dance ensembles of "Kobzar" and "Rusalka" and dozens, if not hundreds, of young men and women attending dance and Ukrainian language seminars.

As for the statute business, the former was again "changed" at the 11th Congress. The result was that the Banderites had further strengthened their positions and influence within the Committee.

The latest, 12th, Congress became another undeniable proof of the estrangement of this nationalist body from the bulk of Ukrainian Canadians, of its total lack of interest in the problems and matters of the Ukrainian community. Very much like the preceding gatherings, the entire "work" of the Congress was centered on bickering, fighting for leading posts.

The nationalist media itself conceded that this Congress was "the poorest, the worst and the weakest" of all held previously. Compared to the preceding assemblies, it gathered the smallest number of delegates — mostly repre-

representatives of the older generation who were physically unfit to contribute more or less tangibly to the organization's activity. There were few young delegates present.

The Congress organizers had counted on making the twelfth assembly a stimulant in the process of consolidating the Committee, in softpedaling the pressing differences. They got the worst of it. The 12th Congress revealed with blinding clarity the deepening of contradictions in the nationalist camp, the trend of isolating its right extremist wing and UCC's organizational flaccidity.

What became the Congress's major event was the absence of the Banderite faction. During the preparatory period, the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine had forced the Congress organizers to cancel their invitation to the renegade L. Plyushch. However, this had caused an uproar among the leaders of other nationalist groups who had been meaning to use this dissident's anti-Soviet speeches.

The atmosphere of criticism had made the Banderites abstain from attending the Congress. Still, in order to prevent the complete isolation of the League from the Committee from becoming a reality, the Banderite chiefs had declared that, despite their non-participation, they would put forward their candidate representatives when forming UCC's governing bodies.

Severe clashes between the nationalist herders also took place during the election of the president. Three candidates were nominated — S. Radchuk (OUPP), B. Panchuk (SUKV) and M. Mytsyk (UNF). The latter stood the biggest chances, but the "veterans" withdrew Panchuk

in favor of Radchuk. As a result, Radchuk was voted President, much to the chagrin of the Ukrainian National Federation.

At the Congress, a still sharper edge was given to the conflict among the clergy — the Uniates vs. the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox adherents vs. the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. When reciting prayers at a banquet, priority was given to a Catholic priest, rather than to the present Orthodox metropolitan, which the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church took as a great offense with regard to the whole of the Orthodox believers.

Although the report of the UCC leadership on their activity over the past three years had been added a couple of cheerful notes, it revealed that the whole organization was quickly and inevitably going down the drain. UCC's departments were falling apart, there were no fresh cadres and neither could any be expected. The Committee's prestige in the eyes of the Ukrainian community and Canadian official circles was rapidly dropping.

The Committee's budget of the three preceding years was made public in the report at the 12th Congress. It unambiguously disclosed the falsity of declarations made by the UCC big shots about the Committee's "care for the preservation of Ukrainian identity" in a strange language midst, for the interests of the Ukrainian Canadian community (e. g., of the 193.5 thousand dollars spent by the UCC ruling elite — with 207.4 thousand worth of incomes — as much as 170.3 thousand dollars had been paid out for administrative needs).

Obviously a "good care for the Ukrainian community," with the lion's share of the budget spent on different trips, "representations," "high-ranking functions" and banquets of the UCC "Establishment."

The organizational aspect of the Congress was lame in all fours. According to the nationalist press, the premises chosen for the Congress were "inadequate" (the delegates had to elbow their way, pushing past each other in the narrow corridors, while the assembly hall was being fixed as a restaurant, and then vice versa); neither of the sittings was held on time — "except for the concert, nothing took place as scheduled."

To hide the absence of any meaning of their "work," the delegates voted as many as 55 resolutions, perhaps in an effort to "beat the quality by the quantity." "Many of these resolutions were from the very start destined never to be carried out," noted hopelessly the author of the article "Post-Congress Thoughts" in the weekly *Free Word*.

As was to be expected, the verbal fire at the 12th Congress was concentrated on the statute question. The Melnykite UNF and a number of other groups with domineering middle-aged members tried to push forth amendments, aimed at what was termed the "democratization of the UCC system" (they hoped to seize more places in the governing section in the future). These amendments were to provide for the electivity of the UCC bodies. However, after they had agreed to the presidential election, the veteran parties and organizations (the aforementioned Ukrainian Self-Reliance

League of Canada and the League of Ukrainian-Canadian Veterans — SUKV — also part of the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Canada) get scared that elections to other UCC bodies would undermine their “sovereignty” and their relative influence within the Committee. The “many-hour discussion” grew into the habitual squabble. The arrangers of the gathering, wrote *Free Word*, “overused the patience of the delegates by protracted and unnecessary discussions of the statute changes.” These “discussions” ended in the same way as at the previous congress. “The point on the statute was withdrawn from the agenda.”

“Absence of unanimity” was how *Free Word* delicately referred to the battles of UCC leaders at the 12th Congress (which had reached a degree at which only the firm hand of one Ya. Bilak had been needed to calm down the fuming audience, “because anybody else would have hardly been able to cope” with the enraging delegates).

A commission was set up at the Congress, chaired by an “energetic lawyer” by the name of Botyuk, to draw up a new statute. Energetic as this lawyer might be and how good the draft statute of the commission, one can predict with all reasonable certainty that there is simply no statute in existence, and nor will there ever be, which could even up the factions’ interests. Likewise, there is hardly any doubt that the next, 13th, Congress will turn into another politicking battlefield where the nationalist functionaries will again come to blows over leadership in UCC. It is easy to foresee that the 13th UCC Congress will lead to further

complications and sharpening bickering among separate nationalist emigre centers, and that it will mark another step in UCC's process of decay.

The Banderites' continuous attempts to take over UCC leadership by means of plotting and backstage dealing and the undemocratic principles upon which this organization is built, also the senseless playing of the UCC rulers at "liberation policy" which is, in effect, a sum total of vociferous anticommunist and anti-Soviet campaigning, inciting the Canadian public to participate, pouring oil in the flames of hysterical anti-Soviet propaganda and stepping up militaristic moods — all this discredits UCC and its upper echelons in the eyes of Ukrainian Canadians (who can see the unwillingness of their nationalist "shepherds" to concern themselves with Canadian problems and their trying to substitute resolving them by anti-Soviet politicking), and not only them.

UCC's anti-Sovietism is so revulsive to Ukrainian Canadians that they are far from willing to be any part of the Committee. In fact, the "work" of many UCC bodies has in recent years been reduced to election meetings during which the same persons are reelected.

The Committee's chiefs are increasingly alarmed by this. And with reason. "Indifference and passivity are growing among the members." "Many UCC departments exist only on paper, formally, whereas in reality there are neither people there nor any work done." Many other similar involuntary confessions can be found in the nationalist press. Precisely these confessions reflect the actual situation with this

association. The nationalist elite's fears that UCC's days "are counted" are not altogether groundless. As all other nationalist communities, UCC is what one might well describe as being sick beyond cure. The factual number of its constituent bodies is considerably smaller than UCC itself advertises. Many of its members are ones only formally. They do not maintain contacts with the Committee's ruling core. Neither do they pay membership dues.

More and more often, nationalist periodicals carry unwilling confessions to the effect that the politicking of the leaders of their centers has led them to complete degradation and falling apart. "The political sector of the organized Ukrainian community is degenerating, corrupting its public sector," the nationalist press wrote only a couple of years ago. Today, *Free Word* states; "Alas, incompetent politicking here in Winnipeg is as flourishing as throughout the *diaspora*. It is upheld by certain hur-ray-patriotic elements who prove to be dull from the statesmanship point of view, who cannot see farther than the tip of their nose and who create a stifling atmosphere."

The "stifling atmosphere," created by the "fathers of the emigration," has become that midst from which even the nationalist-minded Ukrainians avert their faces. "At present, our branches are no longer existent in many localities. In others, they have become quiet and do not bother to learn what is going on in Sudbury, Winnipeg, Thunder Bay or elsewhere. Our children are getting assimilated..." complains *The New Pathway* of the Ukrainian National Federation.

The fact that the "helmsmen" of the nationalist movement have not only lost all contact with the masses but also have made themselves utterly aloof from reality, living in the illusory world of long outdated and bankrupt slogans, is rather often admitted by subscribers of nationalist periodicals.

Even the most active propagators of nationalism, outspoken anti-Sovietists who have made slander against the USSR, the Soviet Ukraine and her people their profession and the source of livelihood, are sometimes forced to concede the hopelessness of the nationalist leaders' play at "liberation policy." "Is there any sense in discussing what paint to apply to the walls that have rotted and under which there is no foundation?", asks Mikhaïlo Dobryansky, former editor of Radio Liberty's Ukrainian Section, of the nationalist politicians.

No realistic words about the rotten walls of the structure of bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism, under which there is no foundation, no appeals that the nationalists ought to view the reality through widely open eyes seem capable of sobering up their power-drunk leaders. Even though some of them do realize the foolishness of the very existence of the nationalist camp and its politicking, they never say this out loud, on the pages of their press, for they would thus sign their own death verdict.

Without the future

The slimmer are the chances of the nationalist politicians, doomed by history itself, the bitterer the struggle they wage in order to keep

in one piece the incongruous conglomerate known as the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Not only the leaders of this Committee but also those of the other bourgeois nationalist outfits are well aware that the future of the whole nationalist emigration depends, to a great degree, if not completely, on the situation with their reserve — the younger generation to succeed them. And so they fight with their claws and teeth for the souls of the young Ukrainians abroad, striving to employ all there is in their ideological arsenal to influence them. In general, the problem of keeping youth under control now ranks with the most sensitive ones in the nationalist midst. It still remains unsolved at UCC.

For years, the UCC publications have been conducting a "discussion" about the need in "fresh blood" — i. e. reinforcements for the nationalist groups from the younger emigre generation. As a rule, these "discussions" have been accompanied by complaints of the withdrawal of younger emigres from the nationalist organizations, of their unwillingness to participate in provocative anti-Soviet undertakings, of their complete misunderstanding of, and hostility to, the opportunistic nationalist slogans. Finally, there have been complaints of the growing "conflict of generations" and the disrespectful attitude by young Ukrainian Canadians to all forms of the nationalist movement.

"All of our youth organizations envelop some 10 per cent of the whole of our younger generation," grieved *Svoboda*. "As regards the young people, formal members of the nationalist

youth organizations," wrote *Student*, "perhaps only 10 per cent actually participate in the public and political life" of the reactionary emigration. All this adds up to the fact that the "liberation" politicking of the nationalist bosses is supported by only one per cent of the Ukrainian youth living abroad. According to the Melnykite *Ukrainian Word*, the emigre youth are estranged from their politicking parents by the "lies, unbecoming conduct, intriguing, blackmail, corruption, injustice and untruth" which prevail within the Ukrainian nationalist "Establishment."

"If one considers the percentage of the Ukrainian emigre students who are truly interested in the Ukrainian political problems," wrote Askold Lozynsky, the then chairman of the Banderite M. Mikhnovsky Ukrainian Student Association (May, 1975), "then one's blood must run cold when one realizes that the most active members of the nationalist youth organizations are 'politically retarded individuals....'"

"It must be stated, with much grief, that our organizations are decaying, rather than getting strengthened."

There is yet another fact which makes quite an impact on the modern Ukrainian nationalist camp. While the process of assimilation involves an annually increasing number of Ukrainian youth, the quicker rates are observed from any form of participation in the Ukrainian nationalist centers. Critical attitude is growing in scope, with the youth contributing their condemnation of the entire activity of their "fathers of the emigration." The emigre

younger generation also feels hurt by the modern situation in which all the right extremist nationalist centers have found themselves.

What lies behind the revulsion of most young Ukrainian Canadians toward the emigre politicking of today is also explained by the incessant strife between the different nationalist parties and groups, and, even more importantly, by the incompatibility of the theory and practice of nationalism. Vasyl Hryshko, the URDP ideologue, wrote to this end: "The difference between one's deeds and words is a shameful fact which proves what we know as the Ukrainian political life in emigration. It's precisely this fact that instills in our youth a negative attitude toward our political strata which are supposed to be responsible for such moods."

The "emotion-filled" appeals and "patriotic" slogans are "supported by neither logic nor concrete deeds." They can no longer be used as a means of luring young people into the nationalist organizations. This fact is acknowledged by the entire nationalist media. Modern Ukrainian youth abroad "have learned to use their own mental faculties," wrote *Ukrainian Life*. This youth "can see facts which their parents fail to realize, and are capable of arriving at their own conclusions. They realize that there is an abyss between themselves and the older generation, an abyss which they cannot jump over...."

This abyss, the newspaper notes, has not emerged because the "youth is good for nothing," but because this youth no longer believes in the sincerity of the nationalist slo-

gans. This youth "is striving to reach a change not only in the methods of work, but also in the whole of the ideological heritage of the older generation, revealing black marketeering, double-faced morals, accountability and control."

The final disgrace of the nationalist "leading stratum" in the eyes of the Ukrainian multitude abroad, the outspoken anti-Sovietism to which all the nationalist "policies" boil down — all this makes the young Ukrainians show their backs to nationalism, instilling in them a kind of "immunity" against it. "We have no right to conceal the truth that our very community has appeared to be double-faced and unable to grant the young people an arresting and convincing example worthy of being followed," wrote *Ukrainian Independent*.

"Our academies and the pages of our youth newspapers and magazines are still infested with pompous slogans, on the one hand, and cheap practice on the other. In particular, this is seen from the actions in which our young people are being involved and which can only stir distrust and nihilism in them, bringing them up as opportunists and dishonest individuals."

Leafing through the nationalist publications, one often comes across the idea that the reasons for the waning "organized life" of the younger emigres must not be looked for in their organizations. Even *Ukrainian Echo* and *The Way of Victory* claimed that the decaying of nationalist youth organizations was, first and foremost, reflecting that deep-going crisis

which is eating away the "whole of the Ukrainian emigre community."

It was for precisely this reason that the 1967 Congress of the nationalist Central Union of Ukrainian Students had to acknowledge the fact that part of the Ukrainian emigre youth "not only cannot but also, frankly, do not want to succeed their fathers in their activity." Those young Ukrainian who attended the latest Congress "showered with criticism the entire Ukrainian public and political life, claiming that it had done nothing to be appreciated to date...." "Many of those present foretold demise to all the political parties, in view of the latter's inactivity and even political bankruptcy."

The younger generation of Ukrainians living abroad not only keep clear of the anti-Soviet politicking of the nationalist bosses. What is more, this generation, which has learned to use "their own faculties" (i. e., to think things over independently), subjects to merciless criticism the very foundations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, its "theories and practices." This particular trend has been gaining momentum in the past few years.

In the mid-1970s, in an effort to rescue the reactionary Ukrainian associations which are on the brink of complete political bankruptcy, the nationalist hierarchs began to play up to the younger generation, giving its representatives the floor at meetings and letting them express some critical remarks in the press concerning the "political elite." At that period, a number of critical materials by young authors appeared on the pages of nationalist publications. These articles showed that the youth ful-

ly realized the hopelessness of the very existence of the nationalist "liberation" camp and the harm its activity brings the entire emigration.

M. Lykholat, a representative of the younger Ukrainian Canadian generation, a member of the Association of American Youth of Ukrainian Descent (ODUM), gave a perfectly clear answer to the question why the Ukrainian youth abroad strives to keep aloof from nationalism. Some youth organizations, he wrote, even those set up by the nationalists themselves, as well as their leaders "do not publicly declare themselves nationalists; they conceal their contacts with nationalist centers — if there are any. One shouldn't be surprised at this, noted M. Lykholat, because "ideological nationalism, this 'organization of the best human species' (according to D. Dontsov) is a leftover of the 1920s-30s, when such ugly phenomenon as Nazism and fascism took shape. Who would want to advertise his own affiliation to them? So this is why the advanced part of our youth — the students — feel ashamed of their belonging to nationalism."

The advantage which the Ukrainian youth abroad seems to ascribe to life criteria and ideals glaringly opposing those of the nationalists worries the Ukrainian reactionary big-shots much more than such phenomena, generally observed in the present-day youthful community overseas, as individualism, one's desire to get rich, both in terms of money and cultural values, plus one's determination to be locked within one's own protective shell. Add to this the problems of narcotics and the mounting criminal

rates. All these are apparently born of the capitalist economic and social order. It is with mounting grief that one is forced to regard these phenomena as increasingly frequent occurrences within society.

For example, the late Oleg Shtul-Zhdanovych, a functionary of the Melnykiste OUN, used to complain that young Ukrainian Canadians "are being corrupted in terms of politics and national awareness," that they regard with scorn all the political Ukrainian communities, switch sides with alien, "extremist" movements that are often "hostile" to the nationalists. At present, the nationalist press complains of "complete leftism" among the Ukrainian youth abroad and writes, in despair, about the appearance, among the young people, of different leftist movements and "Marxist trends."

In order to commit the youth to their anti-Soviet campaigning on a bigger scale, the leaders of the reactionary Ukrainian associations make use of any available means. In recent years, serious attention has been paid to different "courses in Ukrainian studies" where the students are fed distorted views on Ukrainian history, literature, the language and subjects dealing with the arts. There are, however, courses where major emphasis is placed on politicking. They prove of little popularity with the students who attend them without any enthusiasm. Not so long ago, *The New Pathway* carried the impressions of Boris Lavryshyn who had studied at such courses in Ukrainian studies. "If I had a chance to attend them again," he wrote, "nobody would find me there. I had

thought I had to attend them in order to learn my culture, but in reality, people take up such courses only because they are afraid of either the teachers or their parents.... these courses give me little knowledge."

Shouting about their serious concern with Ukrainian culture which is, allegedly, "under pressure, from alien influences," the nationalist functionaries see that the nationalist centers run their own amateur youth performing groups — musical, choral and dance ensembles — which they claim to sponsor with the purpose of drawing youth to their "native sources."

Still, these very "champions for the development of national culture in the emigration" turn out this culture's worst enemies. Indeed, what kind of future can a culture have when it is isolated from the land it originated from? This is understood by any more or less educated person. As for the nationalist "cultural connoisseurs", specifically these in the UCC employ, their hysterical campaigning against cultural exchanges and their boisterous propagating of the "exclusiveness" of Ukrainian culture reduce the latter to *hopak* and *varenyky*. They even have the nerve to stress it in their media. It is such degenerated Ukrainian emigre culture that the nationalist higher-ups need and like best. The reason behind this affection is clearly defined. In fact, a single phrase from *Ukrainian Echo* suffices for one to realize what the Banderite and other nationalist groupings expect from their performing groups. "....why should we organize our members if the only things they ought to occupy themselves with

are sports, singing and dancing?" (*Ukrainian Echo*, February 26, 1977.)

The required concentration on one's parents' bankrupt politicking as the main thing in the life of the Ukrainian emigre youth, as well as the continuous decaying of the Ukrainian reactionary centers "not only fail to attract but scare away" the younger generation from them, wrote *Free Word* early this year.

Quite expressive is the attitude of the Ukrainian youth abroad to the discredited slogans of the nationalist elite, the latter's opposition to cultural exchanges and its vociferous national problems. This attitude is obvious from a letter by a "young Ukrainian woman," carried by some nationalist periodicals at the end of 1977. She accuses nationalist parties of miscomprehending the problems and aspirations of the youth and of treating them in an unfriendly manner. She also sharply criticizes the efforts of the right extremist, totalitarian, nationalist groupings to reign supreme in the entire life of the Ukrainian ethnic group. "What makes you think that you are the only genuine Ukrainians?" she asks in indignation. The author of the letter accuses those who "have the time of their life playing at party politicians" of "intolerance and hatred which threaten the future of the Ukrainian emigrants," of absolute misunderstanding of democratic principles, and of being plainly scared of democracy. Addressing the incongruous nationalist factions, this woman proves that it is to inner party strife, plotting and scheming that Ukrainian emigre culture owes its current regress. In conclusion, she voices her firm belief in the

future of the Ukraine. "The Ukraine and her people are so strong and rich that they will exist much longer than your (nationalist) parties."

The "alarming situation" in which UCC has found itself, in terms of seeking young successors, has been repeatedly a topic of debates at different meetings and conferences by the Committee's upper echelons. Thus, a "special emergency conference" was held in May of 1978 (Winnipeg). It discussed the "hazardous situation with studies" of the Ukrainian youth abroad and this youth's unwillingness to have anything to do with the nationalists and even to learn the Ukrainian language.

In a year's time, in March of 1979, functionaries of the so-called World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) Mykola Plavyuk and Ivan Bazarko met with the leaders of nationalist youth centers — PLAST (Boy and Girl Scouts), SUM (Union of Ukrainian Youth) and ODUM (Association of American Youth of Ukrainian Descent). During this meeting, a new organization was set up — KUMO (Conference of Ukrainian Youth Organizations). KUMO ceased to exist with remarkable speed, however. It simply vanished into thin air, following in the footsteps of many other nationalist establishments which exist now only on paper.

And so, the UCC brass hats, well worn out with age as they were, had to listen to bitter words, at the Committee's latest annual conference late in 1979, which told them the truth about the younger generation's attitude toward their "liberation ideas." They learned this truth from the speech of Taras Pidzametsky, a spo-

kesman for the younger generation who accused the older elite of the unwillingness to let their younger counterparts hold leading positions within the nationalist groups. Further on, he exposed their lies about the presence of a great number of youth in the reactionary Ukrainian associations and made this statement; "Older youth does not want to participate in the leadership of our organization because they do not like all kinds of destructive internal political intrigues and do not want to participate in ravages which only benefit our adversaries. Further, young people, especially those with higher education, do not like the undemocratic nature of such organizations as the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. They become disillusioned and leave." (*New Perspectives*, December 1979.)

The well-argued accusations which the Ukrainian emigre youth directs against the nationalist elite is seldom met with positive emotions, let alone any understanding, on the part of this elite. More often than not, their responses to the critical reactions of the youth — which the ruling nationalist circles are careful to have carried by their media — sound like scholastic, boringly instructive notations. In most of the case, however, their caustic opinions become plainly offensive, foul-termed allegations, whereby the younger generation is branded as "traitors to the nationalist interests," who are further accused of "leftist trends" or, simply, of "secret agent's work for the good of Moscow." The latter is most often found to be a crucial argument with the Bande-

rite press which seems deliberate in littering its pages with hysterical anti-Soviet slogans and cheap foul language, also with threats that appear to be addressed to both the candidates to the leadership of the nationalist camp, and to the "young dissenters" who appear to have the guts to stick to an opinion of their own.

Thus, at the end of 1979, the Banderite newspaper *Ukrainian Echo* hurled pailfuls of dirt at David Lupul, the author of the article "A Commentary on Valentyn Moroz," carried by the youth newspaper *Student*.

At this point, one seems quite justified in pointing out the fact that the Ukrainian nationalist associations — especially the Ukrainian Canadian Committee — have been doing their best to employ the anti-Soviet efforts of the dissidents who are at present sitting pretty in the West, after the Soviet administration expelled them from the USSR.

The dissident activity, as well as any other topics upon which UCC and its overlords embark, is doomed from the moment of its inception. In general, whatever the nationalists campaign for or volunteer to undertake ends up going down the drain. As a matter of fact, the fatal outcome of their undertakings seems best found in the very initiative, because all of their efforts run counter to the objective historical process and the normal development of relationships among countries and governments. Last but not least, such a course of events within the nationalist camp plainly does not fit into the pattern of what is universally known as good common sense. A couple of years ago, *Student* wrote that UCC, all of the Committee's

undemocratic structure with all of its members' meaningless chatter and abortive anti-Soviet deliberations, "is sentenced to be dumped on the garbage heap of history." Stressing that apathy and disappointment by the progress — or regress, to be precise of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee — were among the prevailing moods at the latest, 12th UCC Congress, the youth periodical *Student* provided an analysis whereby this nationalist body was getting disintegrated, wholly and thoroughly. All of the UCC branches were falling apart, and their prestige, in both the eyes of the Canadian administration and in those of the Ukrainian emigre community, was diminishing.

They say that the cuckoo, this traditionally Ukrainian folktale prophet of one's age, is nonexistent in the Canadian forests. Supposing that bird does exist there, one would hardly expect it to foretell the Ukrainian Canadian Committee many years of life. The reason is simple enough: UCC today is an apparently hopeless venture.

UKRAINA SOCIETY